"Some of the native experts--which is to say, in this case, the 'captains' or navigators of seagoing canoes--have ways of driving off unpleasant or dangerous weather. One day when it looked very black to windward we heard the sound of a conch-shell horn. Out on a stone pier that projects into the lagoon, seated facing the storm, was our interpreter, acknowledged to be the leading navigator of the island. He was alternately blowing the horn and gesticulating as if waving the storm aside. Although we could hear nothing, it seemed that a spell or incantation ought to go with the gestures. It did, and long after he dictated it to me, --a great favor, for such incantations are not generally known, indeed are rather carefully kept secret, and taught only to fellow-captains who pay for them with suitable presents. A translation of part of the incantation follows:

Dark clouds, the horn!
My god-invoking horn!
My talk goes to the clouds like fire. [11]
Turn aside, wind and cloud!

Bad weather, turn aside!
Die away, move away!

The spell was supposed to act on the rain like fire, and drive it away. That time it worked 'like a charm', --which, of course, it was. The next time he tried it, it failed completely. He did not seem disturbed. Fire does not always win over water. His feeling seemed to be that the incantation had a certain amount of power, which might or might not be enough in a particular case. It was always worth trying.

In spite of magic, during the latter part of the west-wind season and sometimes the early part of the trade-wind season, wind sets in too strongly from the west, uprooting trees and taking the thatch off houses. At worst, it develops into a typhoon. A bad one sends waves clear over the island, carries away houses, and, what is worst, destroys food-bearing plants. The consequences of such a typhoon are vividly pictured in an old song:

Men are taking wing;
Flying in all directions
To islands where there is food, and trees standing.
. . . . . .

Let them go, we will stay on.
At least we will have rain to drink.
. . . . . .

Not many are staying.
The others can't stand it without shade.
Never mind, the rain will pour down on us,
And we'll find some shade
Under the little trees that are left.
Purak bushes will spring up on the beaches.
. . . . . .

Now the food is nearly gone.
We watch each other eat.
Look up, and there are no trees,
Here, where it used to be so fine."

1: Burrows--21 (1947-48) Woleaians
789 Ifalik

"In Tom's private prayer or incantation for success as a navigator, sting-ray is coupled with shark and giant clam as formidable creatures invoked to watch over him. In translating, he said that the giant clam, called trewai in the incantation, is found only on high islands. We saw no very large Tridacna, but small ones are common on the reefs. They seem not to be important as food. Large trumpet shells are found occasionally, the flesh eaten, and the shell used as a container or kept on the house platform as an ornament. Small shellfish or many kinds are gathered for food on the reef when the surf is not too high; among them sea-snails, limpets, Turbo, and at least one clam-like bivalve."

1: Burrows--34 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 789, 245 Ifalik

"Finally this young leaf may be an agent of supernatural power. Part of the ritual for a canoe about to set off on a long voyage is to sweep off the hull with ubwūt, wave it over both ends, then fasten pieces of it to the end posts. This is to keep off misfortune. On shore, squares of mat about 18 inches across are plaited of it, taken to the house of the great gods to be blessed or endowed with power, then hung on branches all about the shore. They are supposed to keep evil sea-spirits from landing."

1: Burrows--78-79 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 789, 532 Ifalik

"An illustration in Damm's report shows two images, presumably collected by Sarfert, which are said to be used for weather magic. The heads, bodies and arms are carved of wood in stylized human form. One of them is double, with heads and bodies facing both ways. The single one has a disproportionately large penis. Instead of legs and feet they have bases, apparently of some plastic material, in which are embedded long, slender prongs--the text calls them Rochenstacheln, spines or thorns--on which the images apparently stand; three of them for the single image, four for the double one. Strips of coconut leaf are tied about the arms, and about the body of the single [79] image. They are said to be vangvang (? Dann uses bangwang for 'prayer', but it ordinarily means any gift) of the god Aluluei. The double figure taken with the statement that Aluluei has four eyes, suggests that this may be an image of him. It was apparently to some such objects that Tom was referring when he said that a navigator may have an object or image which has power like that of the songs to help him on his voyages. He had none himself, and said there was none on Ifalik when we were there."

"Some idea of the frequency of communal religious activities is afforded by a list of entries on this subject from the field journal kept during our stay. It must be noted in advance that this records only the more conspicuous events. Such little ceremonies as making flowers for the gods were too numerous to mention. Some performances found noteworthy the first time they were observed were disregarded later on, when they seemed merely 'more of the same'. A few such instances have been inserted in parentheses at about the time they took place, though the exact date can not be remembered. Finally, [184] since the center of ritual was the homestead Weluāra on Falālap, while we lived across the channel on Falārlk, a number of minor ceremonies undoubtedly escaped us altogether. As noted in one of the journal entries, 'They do this often in small groups, and say nothing about it.'

For what it is worth as illustration, the list of journal entries follows, with inserted comment:

July 29.-Just after we arrived, a dance, later found to be a gapeng peng or invocation to a god, was performed for Americans ashore. It was given in front of the men's house on Falārlk, instead of the usual place on Falalap. Though the dance and song are primarily religious, this particular performance seems to have been intended simply as entertainment for the visitors.

A rather long gap between entries here is probably due to the fact that this was the beginning of our stay. We could not yet interpret what we saw, nor talk to anybody except

Tom; and the people did not volunteer information as they did later on, because they did not yet know what we were interested in, and were still a bit shy and distrustful.

August 18. -Ritual to ensure safe arrival of a canoe departing for Faraulep. Most of the other departing canoes shoved off so early in the morning that this ritual was not seen. It is my impression that for the most frequent trip, to Woleai, it was dispensed with; whether because the people of Woleai, who are more or less Christianized, disapproved of it, or because this trip was too short to be considered a serious risk. Actually the ritual acts that accompany the beginning of a voyage do not form an integrated ceremony, but consist of various bits of ritual and incantations, some of them standard, others known only to a few navigators. So it might be hard to find two departures exactly alike, unless they lacked ritual altogether.

August 21. -Shouting overheard from Falālap. Explained as the conclusion of a thanksgiving ceremony given by a few people, probably one household. (Presumably a minor offering of flowers, invocation, and perhaps distribution of 'medicine'.)

August 26. -Funeral of a man who died the night before. (All funerals are preceded by a night of wailing. Women had been wailing over this man for about a week.)

September 12. -Rite of passage for a girl's first menstruation. (The song that accompanies this is also an incantation to drive off wind and rains.)

September 19-20. -The entire population devoted two days to the most elaborate invocation and distribution of medicine we saw. The gods invoked were TIlltr and his son

Tilital.

September 22. -A woman saw an evil spirit. Gargeligar possessed by TIIltr. He and a group of young men roamed about far into the night to exorcise the demon.

October 1. -Gargeligar possessed by a god again. He was instructed [185] to make medicine.

October2. -Gargeligar made medicine on Falālap, distributed it to all comers.

October 4. -Gargeligar on the prowl again, blowing the boatswain's whistle which is supposed to make a noise like a god. Hymn of invocation sung at the homestead Falevelū (a frequent occurrence at several of the more pious homesteads. The head of this household was distinctly a religious man.)

October 8. -Gargeligar once more roamed the island with the young men, singing.

October 9. -Dance to invoke the god on Falālap, followed by distribution of medicine. (A holiday for the whole population, but less elaborate than that of Sept. 19-20.) At night, Gargeligar and his young men walked and sang again.

October 11. -Funeral of a woman on Falālap.

October 12. -Tom drove off a threatening storm by going out on the stone pier at Katelu, blowing his conch horn, singing an incantation, and waving the clouds away.

October 21-23 (approximately). -Maroligar busy early every morning on the stone pier, sitting facing the lagoon, with a kinsman, doing divination with strips of coconut leaf. Said it was for a sick person.

October 23. -Beginning of rehearsals for uru dance, a religious performance, but held this time at my request. (Thereafter until the final performance, rehearsals were held nearly every evening unless it rained, at three canoe-houses; one in Falārlk, one in Rauau, one in Falālap).

November 1. -Boys went to Falālap with Maroligar to 'make medicine' for his sick kinswoman Nobwór.

November 15. -Final daylight performance of uru at Rauau. Whole populace attended, though Falarlk men did not perform. An all-day celebration.

(During a period of rainy weather about this time, I happened upon Tom on the stone pier in Falārlk, trying his incantation again on a storm coming from the west. He did not repeat the success of the other performance we saw, but kept valiantly at it until drenched.)

November 27. -Invocation and distribution of medicine on Falālap. (By this time the parades of Gargeligar and the young men by night had come to seem commonplace, and were no longer noted.) [186]

December 3. -Overwater head built for us beside pier at Katēlū (not the one used by Maroligar and Tom for their rituals), to end our violation of the tabooed site of the ancient men's house. The chiefs attribute the recent bad weather to indignation of the spirits of the great men of old.

December 12. -Offering of food noted at beginning of a feast to celebrate completion of

repairs on a canoe-house. Such offerings were made at the beginning of every communal meal; so such entries might have been made at the conclusion of all the public works listed in the section on economics.

(About this time, another rite of passage was held for first menstruation of a young girl, but not noted in the journal.)

December 26.-Invocation and making of medicine for the sick woman Nobwór. (Noted again on Dec. 28; we were told it was performed for four successive days by Maroligar, after that by Gargeligar.)

December 27.-Lines drawn to guide hewing the hull of a new canoe for Tom's elder son. Workmen observed a partial fast.

December 28.-Outrigger attached to Tom's canoe. Workmen fasted. (This was a different canoe, and different workmen. The fact that the crucial tasks on the two came on succeeding days was a coincidence.)

January 2.-Feast at the homestead Soumat, concluding the series of invocations for Nobwór. The sick woman, now very weak and wasted, lay in one of the houses used for the feast.

January 12.-Ritual for diagnosis and healing of the chief Paliuilimar, who has been suffering for some time from a wasting sickness, apparently the same as that of Nobwór.

January 15.-Funeral of Nobwór.

February 2.-Funeral of Paliuilimar.

In spite of the incompleteness of the list, the entries average less than a week apart, showing that religious services of one kind or another are more frequent in what may be called the church of Ifalik than in churches that hold services only on Sundays. Plainly they are not held at any fixed interval. As a matter of fact, the time for each of the more important ceremonies, in which the whole population takes part, is set by the chiefs, though the initiative is often taken, as the people believe, by a god, who takes possession of some man--most often Gargeligar--and commands that a ceremony be given.

Some of the gaps in the list are due to irrelevant factors, such as our poor observation during the early days of our stay, perhaps sags [187] in interest later on, and such misfortunes as bad weather and fatal disease. Aside from that, I had an impression of something like waves or tides of religious interest. Data are insufficient to test this, except that one concentration of religious feeling is clearly perceptible, from September 19 to October 4-or perhaps, tapering off, to October 9. The big invocation seems to have heightened religious feeling to the point where other events followed in quick succession; a woman saw a demon, Gargeligar was repeatedly possessed by a god, and thereupon roamed the trails with the young men to drive off evil spirits. Observation over a longer period might well show a recurrence of such surges of feeling, possibly even some regularity in them."

1: Burrows--187-188 (1947-48) Woleaians #2
116, 789 Ifalik

"Casual as the list is, it still shows something of the kinds of rituals that prevail on the atoll, and the interests about which they cluster. An attempt at classification of ritual follows:

1. Invocation of beneficent gods:
   (a) communal, to ward off disease, ensure a plentiful supply of food, or for other purposes, more than one of which may be combined in one ceremony. Involves flower offerings at the shrine (described on p. ___), singing a hymn of invocation, making and blessing a medicinal drink, and a concluding feast.
   (b) invocation by communal performance of the song and dance called gapengpeng. One dance for men, another for women; both performed seated.
   (c) invocation by communal performance of the dances called uru. Performed by men only, mostly standing. The only performance witnessed was held at my request and may have been less heartfelt than usual; at any rate, the religious element in it seemed subordinate to one of merrymaking. The song texts are partly religious, partly a medley including at least one love-song and one lament.
   (d) private incantation by a religious specialist; most often for diagnosis and treatment of disease, or for help in driving off an evil spirit, --these, too, feared mainly for diseases they are believed to inflict.
   (e) by a builder (an individual performance, but commonly in the presence of his

workers), to ensure success in his work.

(f) by a navigator (again individual but in the presence of others) to keep the canoe afloat, ward off storms, and otherwise ensure a successful voyage. One ritual seen was addressed to Paluelap. [188]

2. Exorcism of evil spirits:

(a) communal, by invoking a blessing on square mats (timās) of young white coconut leaf, which are hung about the shore so that they are visible from the sea.

(b) by groups of young men, under the leadership of a religious specialist possessed by a god; the other too may be possessed. They roam the trails by night, singing songs which are both invocations to beneficient spirits and incantations to exorcise evil ones.

(c) private, by a healer who sings incantations to exorcise the evil spirit responsible for illness.

(d) by navigators, who sing incantations to drive off storms or evil spirits."

1: Burrows--195 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 789, 778 Ifalik

"Visible emblems (Sinnbilder) accompany invocation to certain particular gods, according to Sarfert. That for Lugweilang is a paddle with two coconut leaves tied about its handle. The adze-head had formerly been used when Lauliār was invoked, or rather exorcised - for the object was to prevent the rainbow-god from destroying canoes at sea. But this adze-head had been washed out to sea in the typhoon of 1907. Carpenters invoking Alulumar used a dancing-staff (guruguru) with a strip of coconut leaflet tied about one end. Maroligar used one of the few carved dancing-staffs seen as a walking-stick, but I never saw it used in connection with the repairs to canoe-houses that he supervised; and when I asked him if he knew how I could get a specimen of such a staff, he readily gave me one of the two he owned. He would hardly have done this if the staff had been a sacred emblem."

Bắnewaṅ means the invocation of a deity; several inhabitants of the heavens have a sort of symbol (wālewṓli) *, which plays a certain part in the bắnewaṅ. It is not known in every case how men learned about it. In this connection the islanders made a reference, which is worthy of note; they said that the people of Mogemog and Polap were the first ones to know how to sail great distances, and that Sarfert would be wise to consult them about this matter. At all events, only certain men understand about bắnewaṅ.

1. The bắnewaṅ for Lugēilắn is used during sickness, because this god lets men get ill. In order to be successful, it is necessary to undertake four different bắnewaṅ in an interval of 4-5 days. It is best to do this when the moon is in the west or the east, in other words, when it is small. If the disease is not yet cured, there is nothing to be done. Solắl gave these bắnewaṅ to Älueló̆b, who transmitted them to Lugēilắn, and also to his sister Aûdjắl; it was she who taught them to men. In 1909 there were still two men who knew these bắnewaṅ. The symbol (wālewṓli) is a paddle, with two coconut leaf knots fastened to its handle.

2. There are two bắnewaṅ for Lâuliắr; and they are designed to drive away the rainbow

* According to another version, Sarfert calls this bắnewaṅ invocation wāliwṓl.

which Lauliär wants to use to destroy the canoes on the sea. The bäñewañ only succeed [92] however, when the oarsmen have not made Äluelöb too angry, and when he has not resolved to kill them. These bäñewañ, which were called faruelüs, were only known to two men, not to the king. An ax (dälai bäläi) served as a symbol, but the last typhoon took it away; now there is no such wäliwöl.

3. The bäñewañ of Älülümädj is called böuwän. It is employed during house repairs. Using the wäliwöl, a dancing stick with a coconut leaf knot (uwüd) on one end, a native utters the charm, pushes the stick against the damaged house, and runs around it.

4. The bäñewañ for Älülüëï is liolau; it was a wooden figure, equipped with ray stings; but Sarfert found a second waliwöl of Älülüëï in the men's house, and this one had the shape of a conch shell (daui); it belonged to a captain. Both are used to drive rain away. While you are repeating the charm you swing the first wäliwöl back and forth, and thrust its point in the direction of the storm; meanwhile, the conch shell is blown from time to time.

5. The bäñewañ for Leläñ is called lümüliwalewal. It is pronounced during the canoe building, at the time when the bow and the stern crest are added. While this is in progress, a coconut leaf knot is hung around each worker.

6. Baluelöb has no special bäñewañ; so the ones for Leläñ and Älülüëï are used for him.

7. Bäñewañ with coconut leaf knots for sea spirits.

2; Damm et al. --180 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 789, 177 Faraulep

As on all the Carolines, the natives practice weather magic with carved wooden figures (xóos), equipped with ray stings (sting - pera, ray - fáix); occasionally they are hung with several coconut leaf knots (úwud) and with Seepocken to hold color to paint the statue. They are treated the same way as on Polowat. The much-traveled man Buimén brought this weather magic to Faraulip.

Before a long voyage the natives conjure Thelán in the following way: they blow a conch shell, and then hang it up in the big house where they return. Mats and coconuts are sacrificed to Alülue on the out-rigger. When they pull a sail boat on to the beach they sing a long song (báne), which really resembles a working song. [CS: Omission of the text of the song.]

2: Damm et al. --200-201 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 789 Faraulep

Another important charm is the matśumáts, the weather magic. There are two types: a) when there has been no rain for a long time, the chief defecates in a sailbreadth (giri), and hangs the excrement up in the big house (fál). [201] The conch shell is also blown occasionally to produce rain. Children sail toy boats for one kind of field magic. This applies to the bread-fruit, which is the most important item of food for the islanders, because they use it to make a kind of preserve, which helps them over the famine. When the ripening season starts - growth and ripening require six months - each boy makes a toy boat (uárits) and sails it as a greeting for the bread-fruit. Alúelap ordered Thauúr to tell men about these toy boats.

4: Krämer--58-59 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 533, 789 Lamotrek

I present here some poems in their original text although they are said to have come from Oleai; but Agupelior of the latter island was not familiar with them.

[ER: The songs are omitted here. Their subject matter includes the following:

1. Songs sung on fishing trips.
2 Song to drive away rain.
3. Song to drive a wind spout away.
4. Song against sharks.
5. Canoe song sung when passing a shoal.
6. Song sung when a boat starts out on a fishing trip.
7. Fish song.
8. Catching of the Bonito.
9. Bonito song.
10. Song about turmeric leaves. [59]

This is followed by a breadfruit prayer, the gatóketok ali mai which refers to the growth of breadfruit. At the time when the prayer is uttered crushed ongorik leaves are shaken up and scattered.

Magic, bolebol, and the Oracle

(cf. photos 2, 4, 10, 12 and color plate 3) [VMM: see source].

In the main there is no difference in this field as compared with the other islands. In the houses (e.g., Sopo's house) hanging altars are found; the beautiful altar from Udot on Truk is said to have come from Lamotrek.

A novel feature is the gobai rod with eyes. The sorcerer, vãk, (Fig. 70 and 71) usually has a house (im bólebol), in which he prepares his medicines and which generally is located near the hut of the sick. Some of the magic songs have been rendered in the section on medicine and canoe construction and in other places numerous references have been made to magic activities, because they play an important part all through life."

4: Krämer--151 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 789 Elato

On Elato I noticed a fan, gáliba, in the yard of a building complex which was there for the sake of magic, kuet. . . .

4: Krämer--151-152 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 789, 821 Lamotrek

Some songs have been given...magic songs of rain: If there is too much rain and it is to be ended, conjuration is done by an address, by the Triton's horn, taui, and [152] by means of a rain switch made of the coral plant kaini lidal; it is handled by a professional conjuror. As the magic song is chanted, the switch with the horn is swung in the direction of the clouds, after the horn has first been sounded with all possible strength. alis ali touber is the magic song for the purification of the house of Ikelur (house 3); no one must be present while this magic is made with the exception of Faragau (house 1), because Ikelur is afraid that he will have to die otherwise.

4: Krämer--154-155 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-2
116, 789 Lamotrek

Here we can give a summary description of the setup for the practice of magic. For garangap fishing, canoe construction, house purification, storm magic and medical treatment young coconut pinnae, uvudj or ubudj are used. Hellwig has some specimens.

a. Double knots (knots, djedjabedda), held with both hands horizontally by both knots; when the two hands approach one another the double leaf splits; a quick return movement of the hands makes the leaves beat against each other and produces a clapping sound. By this sound the magic formula is accentuated in some places and the song is given rhythm which is of some importance, for instance, when a group of people led by the sorcerer, vak, move along the beach. Thus the double (see Figure 74) [VMM: see source] is used like a sled whip; it is called ubudj vai vei or vei vei l'ubudj and was shown to me mainly in connection with the canoe construction song. In contrast to the mentioned metál* alus it does not have to be put on.
b. Four switches with coconut pinnae, owute asse (ubudj) are used by the conjuror to drive illness from the island. [155]
c. Two headbands or armbands , ōwute matalál, with one bow metalōris (see metál alus).

* "His eye," alus, demon.

d. Headdress of split coconut pinnae.

e. Two headbands, marre marre ōwúte metalöris. Two bows are on the forehead, and the ends are either tied together at the back of the head or are fastened with a comb (see above metálálus Figure 73)[VMM: see source].

Needles used to fasten the decorative pinnae are made of the ribs of pinnae and are known as lo[illegible], sivel. Hellwig discovered a complete outfit of a conjuror hanging from a tree on the beach in the northwest of the island, near a hut in an otherwise lonely region; the inhabitants of the little hut did not object to the removal of the set-up. The magic was directed against Truk from where the illness, mass, was said to come.

The Wands of Storm Magic, gosilifei

The spirit Roiang...learned about storm magic from the spirit Tipoeo, who in turn had been told about it by Aluelap. Storm magic was vigorously practiced at the time of the visit of the expedition. We could see that from the objects publicly displayed on the beach of Lamotrek which are shown on photo 4d [VMM: see source]. The drawing of Figure 76 [VMM: see source] even more distinctly shows this arrangement on the beach. One observes that a Triton's horn is hung up with it and that a sacrificial offering is attached to the top. Another specimen, given to me by Ikelur, is in the Linden Museum in Stuttgart no. 77830 (see photo 7) [VMM: see source] and many coconut pinnae are tied to it. [156]

...the Central Carolinian sorcerers, the vak, fight the storm with ray spines on their wands which are greatly feared in combat and are considered one with the god Saulal....

The wood represents the god Aluelap and the cement unites the two. The stings, sometimes, are turned against the conjuror himself when he tries to force the realization of the wish. The janus head represents Paluelap and Aluluei...who are supposed to look out to all sides. Accordingly at the very beginning of a voyage when the mast is planted, one makes the fore alus for Aluluei....it has been said that he appears to be one with Aluelap or Paluelap. Therefore the janus head is supposed to represent Aluluei and has two eyes in front and two in back....Such magic figures are attached to canoes or set up on land (see idols on Figure 77, 78). [VMM: see source] [157]

4: Krämer--155-157 (1909) 1937 Woleaians -2
116, 789, 821 Lamotrek

The latter are dedicated to Ligóubub. . . and are called ëpil alu; ëpil has the meaning of lower, e.g., the root of a tree or the bottom of a bowl. The root of the plant ëlau is scraped; the scrapings are put into coconut juice and the liquid is drunk against illness or wind. They are kept inside of houses, but otherwise are identical with the others mentioned. The kuling. . . is said to have given directions for the magic figures. The meaning of the ray spines, ohét, remains unknown.

4: Krämer--284 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 789 Woleai

[ER: The formula for storm magic follows, but is omitted here.] The rain and the storm shall pass. The sorcerer uses his wand while he speaks these words.

Above it was mentioned that the sorcerer's wand was taken on board and details have been discussed in the section on Lamotrek. I heard about the ray stings on Volea, that Paluelap carried a spear with ray stings with him on his journey and that he punished wrong doers with it. Ray stings were considered fearful weapons.

The name Aluluei here again is derived from alus levêi, the spirit of travel. One says.

i bale vai	I travel
go bale vai	you travel
oa levei	the boat travels, voyage, canoe for high sea voyages.

I found a gosilifei 52 centimeters long and with four ray stings (two of them had broken off in the typhoon of 1907) in Mariong in the canoe house called Falefō, Figure 132c [VMM: see source]. An old form is represented in Figure a, Krämer which instead of the head has only a slab and where the body is made of two sticks. Another old specimen is in the Museum in Hamburg.

11: Born--190 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 789 Woleai

The natives use all sorts of magic and enchantments for animate and inanimate objects. They twist their bodies into grotesque shapes and clap their hands as they utter their formulas. The formulas are applied to all the accidents of human existence. They are used to prevent illness and death, to help canoes which have lost their course, or at least to guide them to a neighboring island. If a rainstorm is approaching, a formula prevents it from hitting a canoe out on the open sea. Once when I was on my way to visit a woman who was very ill with dysentery, I met a canoe in which a woman adorned with flowers was sitting. She sang magical formulas and made strange movements with her paddles as she rowed out toward the sea. The purpose of this was to induce the devil, aissis, to leave the sick woman and to follow her voice. Later, when the woman recovered, her relatives probably explained it by this magic, and not by the Ipecacuanha which I had administered.

28: Spiro--58-59 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1 -2
116, 753, 776, 184, 789 Ifalik

"It is believed that babies are especially vulnerable to the alus, so that they are liable to their attacks even in the daylight. Hence, a baby taken from its home will be covered with a cloth, so that an alus should not see it.

It is obvious from this discussion that we are dealing here with a profoundly significant belief in Ifaluk culture and personality alike. For no matter how conceptualized every person, without exception, lives in great fear of the alus, one ever expressed any skepticism concerning either their existence or their power. [sic] Now this lack of skepticism cannot be attributed solely to conditioning factors, or to the culture pattern, or the determinism of the collective representations, from which the savage cannot extricate himself, to employ the jargon of three alternative schools of thought. For if these factors were primarily responsible for the firmness of this belief, then the same lack of skepticism should prevail in the belief in the benevolent alus, the alusemar, and such is not the case, for here, the natives are entirely pragmatic in their approach, their belief being contingent upon the objective evidence of the aluseman's power. The only objective documentation I have for this assertion comes from Tom. Now it might be argued that his higher degree of acculturation accounts for his skepticism. But this is untenable for this acculturation did not induce any skepticism as regards the alusengau, and furthermore, despite his acculturation, Tom accepts without qualification the entire pattern of natives beliefs, practices, and attitudes.

Tom, in discussing the alusemar with me, remarked that, 'If god talk lie, people throw away.' That is should the alusemar promise to restore a man's health and not succeed he is discarded in favor of another.

On another occasion, we were waiting for the diagnosis and prognosis of the illness Paluelimar, the third ranking chief, by Arogeligar. After it was given, Tom said to me, 'I don't know; maybe that god talk true, maybe talk lie.'

Another point worth recording at this point is the natives' refusal to assign alus causality to events that are amenable to naturalistic interpretation. (18)"

"18. Malinowski's point made long ago (Science, Magic and Religion) that magical or supernatural techniques are employed by natives only in situations which are unpredictable, and which they cannot control applies in full on Ifaluk. Only where [59] naturalistic interpretations are unknown, or where risks are great, are supernatural techniques used, at biological crises, ocean voyages, tec. The paucity of magic on Ifaluk is in part explainable, therefore, by a relatively predicitable environment, so that not even in gardening, for example, are magical techniques used."

28: Spiro--76
116, 821, 789

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"With regard to the weather, however, its course is not only predicted, it is controlled. If the divination indicates continued storm, then an incantation is recited which can control the weather. Only the navigators, know the technique. The person sits on one of the stone piers, and blows a conch horn. He then points it into the storm, and recites the appropriate verses. One of them collected by Dr. Burrows follows:

Incantation to drive away a storm

Dark clouds, the horn!
My god-invoking horn!
My talk goes to the clouds like fire.

Don't come near dark clouds!
Stay far away!
No more, no more, no more!

Turn aside, wind and cloud!
Bad weather turn aside!
Die away,
Move away!

Depart bad weather!
Come good weather!
Fair and bright.
Let there be fine days!
Cloudless the sky.

There are also incantations to clear the weather, (involving the breaking of the rainbow, which they think causes the storm), to drive off rain, to bring a departing canoe safely home, to keep a canoe afloat. I quote this one because it is typical. They are all attempts to control the elements by magic--that is words and gestures. It will be noticed that the bad weather is not caused by a supernatural agency but is conceived as an autonomous entity."

28: Spiro- 131 [2]
116, 789, 831

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Despite the importance of sex, there are no supernatural techniques of obtaining love or sexual favors, no love magic. The natives said that love magic is found on Truk, but no one had brought it from Truk, since all the people would fear it."